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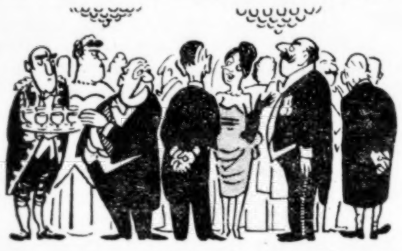
FRUITS OF FOREIGN POLICY

A decade of deceit now haunting U. S. in Africa and Asia

By Kumar Goshal

THE UN General Assembly on Nov. 22 seated President Kasavubu's delegation as representative of the Congo Republic. It rejected repeated appeals by leading Afro-Asian nations and the socialist and Scandinavian countries to postpone a decision until the UN conciliation commission had a chance to reconcile differences within the Congo. Then the Assembly voted 53 to 24 in favor of Kasavubu, with 19 abstentions. One member was absent and Nigeria refused to participate in a debate which, Ambassador Wachuku said, "pitted African against African."

Siding with Kasavubu's principal backer, the U.S., were the Latin American nations—with the exception of Cuba—and, under terrific pressure from the West, most of the African countries within the French Community. The N.Y. **Times** the next day editorially called this a defeat for "the Soviets and their witting or unwitting accomplices." Among the **Times'** "accomplices" were India, Indonesia, Ceylon, Afghanistan, Ghana, Guinea, Mali and Sweden.


London Evening Standard

"It's all so confusing, Mr. Louw. Do tell me, informally, what is the difference between the Africans and the Afrikaans?"

FRUITS OF A POLICY: Washington saw a great victory for U.S. foreign policy; but there would be soberer thoughts. For recent events in the Congo and in other parts of Africa—taken together with those in Laos and South Vietnam—revealed a picture of chaos and suffering precipitated by U.S. policy toward the underdeveloped, colonial and newly-freed lands of Africa and Asia.

In the Congo, on Nov. 21 troops of Congolese "strong man" Mobutu attacked Tunisian soldiers of the UN force guarding the residence of Ghana's special representative Nathaniel Welbeck in an attempt to expel him from Leopoldville. There were casualties on both sides. After Welbeck flew home the next day, Congolese troops beat up UN civilian personnel. This was hardly an inducement for nations to contribute to future UN police actions.

KING JOSEPH? Following the Assembly vote, it was reported that legally-elected Premier Lumumba and his supporter Gen. Victor Lundula—both of whom Mobutu had deposed—had escaped to Stanleyville, capital of pro-Lumumba Oriental province. Lumumba is known to favor a strong central government for the Congo. Kasavubu has dreamed of reviving the ancient Kingdom of the Kongo, embracing Leopoldville, parts of the former French Congo and Portuguese Angola, which are inhabited by members of his Bakongo tribe. Moise Tshombe still clings to near-independence for mineral-rich Katanga province.

A three-cornered struggle seemed a possibility, unless Kasavubu permitted the UN conciliation commission to enter the Congo and to restore a united Congo under a parliament with Kasavubu as Chief of State and Lumumba as Premier.

(Continued on Page 9)

THE RULES COMMITTEE

Will the House end graveyard of liberal bills?

By Russ Nixon
Guardian staff correspondent

WASHINGTON

THE HOUSE REPUBLICAN leader Rep. Charles A. Halleck (Ind.) on Nov. 20 said he expected that "business as usual" by the GOP-Dixiecrat coalition would defeat or dilute any liberal legislative proposals of the Kennedy administration. With 22 more Republican seats in a much more conservative House, Halleck confidently dismissed what he called "a lot of radical, wild eyed, spendthrift proposals."

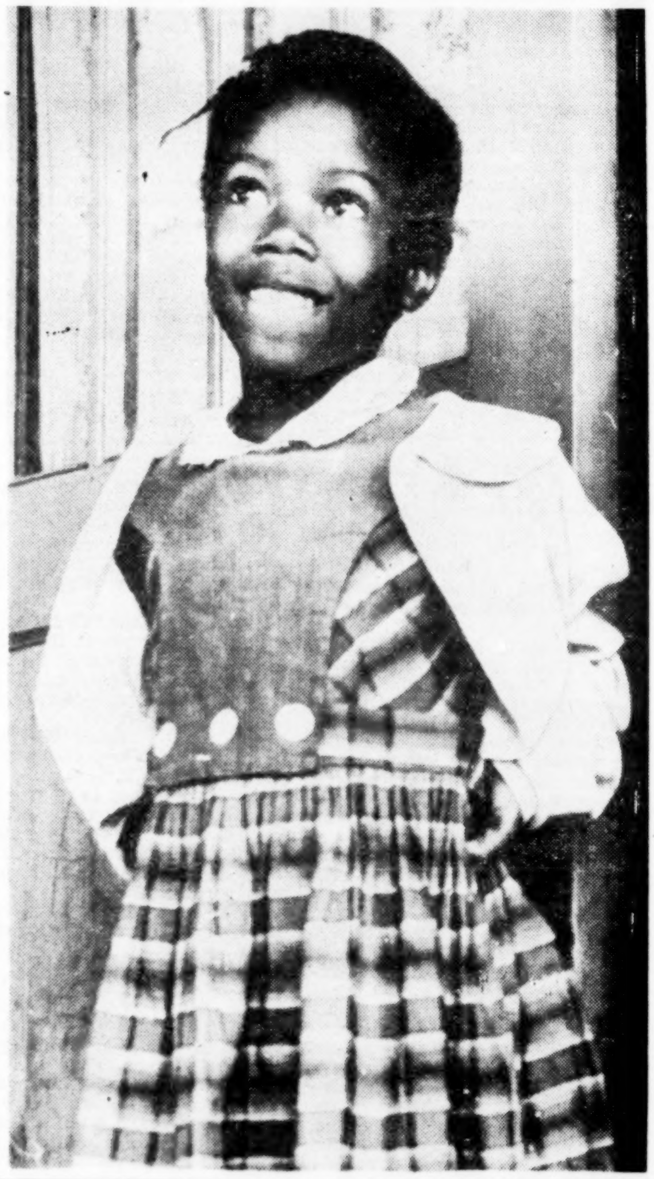
Whether the Halleck threat holds up and the coalition continues its control of Congress will be determined in the first week of January when the House and Senate adopt rules of procedure and set up their committees.

It is uncertain how much of a fight will be made and whether the Democratic liberals will have the support of Democratic leaders in seeking to break the power of the Southern minority. The outcome will decide the course of the new Congress and the fate of Kennedy's legislative program on minimum wages, aid to education and depressed areas, housing, medical care for the aged and civil rights.

THE RULES COMMITTEE: The division on these issues will be very close. The House has 176 Republicans and 261 Democrats—99 of the Democrats from the South. The Senate has 64 Democrats and 36 Republicans. But not all Southerners will desert the Democratic leadership, and some Republicans will support liberal socio-economic legislation. The actual result will depend in large part on whether the Dixiecrats are allowed.

(Continued on Page 10)

This is Ruby Nell Bridges. She and three other six-year-olds are seeking to "destroy white civilization" in New Orleans by attending formerly all-white schools. District Atty. Leander H. Perez and the Louisiana state legislature have combined to block the threat of Ruby Nell. Meanwhile, business has fallen off, the restaurants are empty and no one is happy. But "the Communist vultures," says Perez, must be thwarted. On Nov. 28, when the schools reopened after the Thanksgiving holiday, only two white pupils out of 1,000 attended classes at the two controversial public schools. It was a great victory for supreme ignorance and intolerance.



PLAN COAST TO COAST WALK FOR PEACE

Pacifists jailed for boarding Polaris sub

By Robert E. Light

THE COUNTRY'S most powerful nuclear submarine, the Ethan Allen—it can fire 16 Polaris missiles with hydrogen warheads more than 1,500 miles—came through its first skirmish without a scratch. The submarine got its baptism of fire the moment it was launched Nov. 22 in Groton, Conn., when it was boarded by two young pacifists. The enemy was captured immediately and the battle may go down as the quickest victory in the young history of nuclear submarine warfare.

Mrs. Robert H. Hopkins, great-great-great granddaughter of the Revolutionary War hero for whom the vessel is named, broke the traditional champagne bottle to signal the release of the submarine down the ways. Donald Martin, 20, and Bill Henry, 27 members of the Committee for Nonviolent Action, dove into the Thames River and swam to the vessel. They climbed aboard by pulling themselves up the bunting as 5,000 persons attending the ceremonies watched.

The submarine's crew overpowered the unresisting invaders and returned them to land where they were jailed on charges of trespassing. Earlier seven other pacifists were arrested. They had tried to block the area in front of the ways with two rowboats and a canoe. Two Navy and five Coast Guard vessels intercepted them and towed the boats to shore.

Six of the defendants refused bail and spent Thanksgiving in a New Haven jail. Sheriff J. Edward Slavin wished they had all gone home; they gave him nothing but woe. Three of the group went on a hunger strike. When a guard tried to break up a checkers game to march the prisoners to the mess hall, they refused to move. Slavin placed them in solitary confinement.

Slavin would forgive the prisoners' non-cooperation, but, he said, "they've got to stop preaching nonviolent resistance to the other prisoners. Some of the inmates are getting stirred up. This isn't India. We aren't staffed to cope with this sort of thing."

NEW FLEET: The 6,900-ton Ethan Allen is the first in the new fleet of nuclear submarines which will carry A-2 Polaris missiles with a firing range of more than 1,500 miles. This is 300 miles further than the other Polaris-firing subs, George Washington, Patrick Henry and Robert E. Lee. The Ethan Allen is also 1,300 tons heavier and 30 feet longer than its predecessors. Each sub carries 16 Polaris missiles with a firing power several times greater than the sum of all bombs exploded in World War II.

At the launching ceremonies, Gen. Lyman L. Lemnitzer, chairman of the Joint

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THE MAIL BAG

Boost for tyrants

NEW YORK, N.Y.

The U.S. government has sided once more with the tyrants that oppress Latin America.

The recent dispatch of warships to Nicaragua and Guatemala is a clear move to prolong the stay in office of those who have by force imposed themselves on their people. The excuse as always is a supposed "invasion" threat by Cuba. Of course, this action plays a double role: on the one hand it helps to crush popular movements in the said countries and on the other hand intensifies the hysteria against revolutionary Cuba by pointing an accusing finger at Fidel Castro.

We ask ourselves: When is this intervention in the internal affairs of other countries going to stop?

A. Perez

Letter from Cuba

POMPTON LAKES, N.J.

Here are excerpts from a letter I received from the collective farm in Cuba the GUARDIAN group visited last July 26; I sent them a batch of colored slides which I took there, hence the reply:

"Everybody here liked the pictures very much and we have shown them in the school. Our Cooperative is not the only one in Cuba. There are several of them in the Republic. We cultivate only tobacco, but there are many that cultivate fruits, rice, peanuts, poultry, cattle, and now sugar cane. This is the best way to finish with the struggle of the classes, because every worker is a partner and also owns his own portion of land, thus realizing a better standard of living and ending the low salary of the working men.

"Our strugge is against exploitation, oligarchy, and against the imperialist system of colonization of Latin-American people. We don't hate American people, nor any other people in the world. We hate only the imperialism coming where they come. We want only to live alone, without bosses, in peace and freedom.

"Come back again to Cuba—a free country where there is not fear, and anyone can live without discrimination, in peace and real liberty."

Alvena V. Seckar

Congratulations

BANFFSHIRE, SCOTLAND . . .

I should like to congratulate everyone responsible for the NATIONAL GUARDIAN on the high standard of the publication considering your limited resources.

You give space to all genuine progressive viewpoints, without preference to any narrow sectarian ideology and the liberals and socialists in the U.S.A. are indeed fortunate to have such a publication.

I find the GUARDIAN invaluable for facts about the U.S.A. which are unobtainable from any British publication.

You deserve far better support than you are getting.

Brian Wilkinson

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WALLKILL, N.Y.

As a subscriber to the paper, let me, along with many others, compliment you and the staff of the GUARDIAN for putting out a top publication with a serious purpose in the interest not only of your own country but all mankind. **Fred Briehl**

Anti-screening

NEW YORK, N.Y.

The Seamen's Defense Committee has been under vicious attack by the House Un-American Committee. They are out to destroy us for the major role we played in having the Federal courts make a shambles of "screening" in the maritime industry.

To restore screening in the industry, a bill has been introduced in the House of Representatives by the Un-Americans. This bill, HR 11580, would make the original screening program look mild. Any worker who refuses to "talk" to any group appointed for that purpose by the President, Congress, Congressional committee or subcommittee, is out of a job. Refuse to be a stool pigeon and you're out too. This bill is aimed at anyone connected with the maritime industry, however remotely. There is no appeal; no hearing; no chance to face your accuser!

We need your support—both moral and financial! The Seamen's Defense Committee upset one screening program and with help we will block this one.

Peter Goodman, Secy.
Seamen's Defense Comm.
201 Second Av., N.Y.C.

The ILWU contract

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

Your story (Oct. 31) on the Mechanization and Modernization agreement reached by the International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union and the Pacific Maritime Association needs some correction.

A guaranteed minimum weekly wage of $98.70 has not, as your story states, been agreed upon. The agreement states only that there shall be a floor under earnings, and the basis upon which this guarantee is to be paid has yet to be worked out by the joint trustees who will administer the fund. The union's proposal that 35 straight time hours be guaranteed would, at $2.82, amount to $98.70. Such guarantee probably would not be paid on a weekly basis, more likely quarterly or annually.

Also, "normal," not "mandatory" retirement continues at age 68. Under the new agreement this can be lowered to 65 and, later, to 64, 63 or 62.

Morris Watson
Information Director, ILWU

Wall Street Journal

"Well, I can't speak for your wife, but I don't understand you, either."

No, thanks

BERKELEY, CALIF.

I was sent (again) a sample copy so that I may subscribe. I won't. Why? Your article in the Oct. 31 issue on the ILWU Longshoremen automation contract ends with ". . . other unions now have a model." Some model! Pressure is now being put on the Teamsters for more of the same. This means that a teamster can now drive his rig right on the ship, drop his "automation" trailer, then drive off again—look, Ma, no hands and no longshoremen! Where is your union now? Where is your model?

This is progress? When the boss gets speedup this is supposed to advance America. But when an electric car is invented with solar batteries so that it never, never, never needs gas, oil, or electricity, will we ever see it? Current issue of either **True** or **Argosy** has photos of them, but that, brothers and sisters, is all you will ever see—a photograph. Meanwhile, suffer workers, suffer and sacrifice for this modern age of ours; yes, get a pension while you suffer and sell out the coming generations of workers. No thanks.

George Kaufman

For theater people

NEW YORK, N.Y.

On a recent visit to Hungary, I made the acquaintance of a young playwright who is anxious to establish contacts with theater people around the world. He is enthusiastic about advancing cultural and social relations between East and West through the art of drama.

At present he is directing a brilliant repertory company in Budapest. His name is Peter Muller; address: Madach Szinhaz, Budapest VII, Wesselenyi utca 62, Hungary. **O. Greif**

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

Retiring State Senator Frank W. Ruth is satisfied in his own mind that nature is preparing the world for another war of cataclysmic proportions. His conclusion is based on the birth rate in which boy babies greatly outnumber girls. Sen. Ruth, a Doctor of Divinity, is minister to five churches in Berks county.

The Rev. Ruth explained that "the essential consideration is that young men are necessary for combat. In some mysterious way nature scents an anticipated demand for more and more men and acts accordingly." Dr. Ruth, a Democrat, a student of the Scriptures and of nature, refined and in the raw, has here a theory well worth the attention of thoughtful persons everywhere.

—John M. Cummings' column in the Philadelphia **Inquirer**, Nov. 17.

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: A.R., Philadelphia, Pa.

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

THROUGHOUT THE WORLD the pretensions of U.S. foreign policy crumbled under the impact of military debacle in Korea and Western panic at President Truman's threat to use the A-bomb. The Dulles-Truman-MacArthur policies, having led the world to the brink of atomic war, were brought up short last week by what Howard K. Smith, CBS London correspondent, called "a popular rebellion forced from below on reluctant governments."

Prime Minister Attlee's flight to Washington at the end of a hectic week was a decision to oppose "war in China at any cost," said Smith—as spokesman not only for a united Britain but for "700,000,000 free people in opposing American war policies. The revolt has been universal. It is in every free nation and in every political party from right to left."

In the U.S. the **Wall St. Journal** warned that the country faces "national ruin" if it does not recognize its foreign policies mistakes and stop "waving its fists at a man when you are standing downhill with the sun in your eyes." The paper called for "appeasing China" as the least disastrous of possible alternatives and for treating U.S. allies henceforth as "true partners" rather than bought "followers."

—From the National Guardian, Dec. 6, 1950

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REPORT TO READERS

The Caribbean 'nut'

A SALUBRIOUS SUGGESTION—for this winter's Caribbean cruises as well as for inter-American relations—has come via the New York **Times** from "Latin-American quarters" on what the U.S. ought to do with the armada it has sent to patrol the coasts of Guatemala and Nicaragua because of alleged threats of invasion from Cuba. The Caribbean fleet, composed of two carriers, a small flotilla of destroyers and a couple of Navy patrol planes, could

". . . act as a screen against Cuban attacks on Central America, which Guatemalans, Nicaraguans and others say they fear, as well as attacks from Central America that Premier Castro says are being prepared there against him.

"The argument is that in thus applying to the Caribbean the principle of the Seventh Fleet's Taiwan patrol that keeps either China from striking at the other, the U.S. could neutralize potential antagonists in the region and probably win itself much greatly needed good will."

IT IS PLEASANT to know that the GUARDIAN's Christmas-time tour to Cuba may be protected by the U.S. fleet from any untoward interruption while we visit schools, housing projects, beach developments, agricultural and fishing cooperatives and have Christmas and New Year's Day dinner with the Cubans.

But our own Latin-American quarters give us a more interesting and more likely reason for anticipating a visit interrupted only by Cuba' own Independence Day **cohetes** (sky rockets). Our Man in Havana informs us that the build-up in Guatemala for an invasion of Cuba (described in some detail last month by a Stanford University professor returning from a recent visit there, and not denied anywhere yet) has been diverted to another trouble spot right in Central America.

Havana hears that the uprising of Nov. 11 in Nicaragua against the Somoza regime was much stronger and more widespread than we have been permitted to know about because of press censorship—so rough on Strong Man Somoza in fact that he wanted U.S. Marines to land and help him out. Instead, because of how this might look in other Latin American quarters, the forces training in Guatemala to invade Cuba (with U.S. equipment and personnel, on a CIA-owned stamping ground, according to the above professor's undenied report) have been sent to Nicaragua to keep Somoza in his saddle.

SO WE WHO ARE UNDERTAKING to help build that much-needed bridge of friendship and understanding with the people of Cuba can now return to this happy pursuit—perhaps even with a vote of thanks for the series of explosive events which have now brought **fidelismo** into some kind of perspective in the world press.

The London **Times**, for example, while expressing no doubt that the uprisings in Guatemala and Nicaragua "have been inspired by the Cuban example," compared the sending of a U.S. task force of such magnitude to the area with "snatching for a sledge hammer to crack a peanut."

The London **Observer** employed a similar simile ("taking a steam-hammer to crack a nut") and went on to note that "no one is sure that there is a nut." The **Observer** identified President Ydigoras of Guatemala as the right-wing successor of the late dictator Castillo Armas and said that most Latin-Americans believe Armas came to power in 1954 after North American intervention "to protect the United Fruit Company, which was threatened with nationalization" by the left-wing government of Jacobo Arbenz Guzman. As for Nicaragua's Somoza family, it is "one of the world's few surviving feudal dynasties" owning a great part of the land and business of their country.

OUR FINAL COMMENT comes from President Jose Figueres of Costa Rica, the Central American country which was host last summer to the Organization of American States meeting at which the U.S. sought to rally all of Latin America against Cuba, and failed. Figueres called the U.S. sending of a patrol fleet to the Caribbean a "parada" and said the units were really there to serve the Somozas of Nicaragua and the shaky Guatemalan government.

All in all, it appears that Ike's threatening posture in the Caribbean has neither frightened nor fooled anyone, and has served principally to make life a bit more difficult for the incoming Kennedy administration. But that's next year's problem.

Meanwhile, we invite you to come along with us at Christmas-time for a first-hand glimpse of **fidelismo** in its own summery, wave-caressed habitat. You'll come back marvelously tanned, and with something historic to tell about all winter long. If you're considering the trip, better not wait to let us know. Our reservations are limited, and we must close on Dec. 13. **—THE GUARDIAN**

WHY THE ELECTRA PLANES ARE STILL FLYING

Government and NATO ties boost Lockheed's profits

SIXTY-TWO DIED IN THIS CRASH OF A LOCKHEED ELECTRA IN BOSTON ON OCT. 4
Despite earlier disasters, the government refused to ground the turbo-prop airliner

By Ed Sears

THE PEACE WRECKERS are happy. Confident that they can stifle any attempt to end the armaments race, they look to bigger and better profits. "We have great confidence in the future," Robert and Courtlandt Cross, chairman and president respectively of Lockheed, the nation's fourth largest military contractor, wrote their stockholders last August, and predicted "a sustained period of prosperity" for the company.

Lockheed was most physically involved in the wrecking of the summit conference last May. The U-2 was a Lockheed product, designed by Clarence Johnson, vice-president in charge of advanced development projects. Its pilot, Francis Gary Powers, was an employe of Lockheed under contract to the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

Lockheed's involvement, moreover, goes beyond that of a mere executor of U.S. policy. Through one of its "alumni," it is in a position to help formulate top U.S. air and space policies.

DIRECT LINE: William A. M. Burden, a New York investment banker, was a director of Lockheed when President Eisenhower appointed him to the nine-man National Aeronautic and Space Council in March, 1959. Other members of this top policy making body are President Eisenhower, its chairman, Secy. of State Herter, Secy. of Defense Gates, chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission McCone, Administrator of the Natl. Aeronautics and Space Administration Glennan, director of the Natl. Science Foundation Waterman, president of the Natl. Academy of Sciences Bronk, and president of Illinois Institute of Technology Rettaliata.

Through Burden, Lockheed had a direct line to the President on matters concerning air and space policy up to the summit conference. Burden severed his connections with Lockheed upon his appointment to the Council, but one can seriously question whether his actual break with Lockheed is as complete as his formal one. The records of two other Lockheed "alumni," Charles S. Thomas and Elwood R. Quesada, have some bearing on his point.

In 1953 director Charles S. Thomas was appointed Under Secretary of Navy. Like Burden, he resigned from the company and sold his stock. Thomas advanced rapidly, rising first to Asst. Secy. of Defense and then to Secy. of the Navy. When he left government service in 1957, Thomas was again made a director of Lockheed.

GEN. QUESADA: The other "alumnus" is Federal Aviation Administrator Elwood R. Quesada. Gen. Quesada was appointed to his present post in 1958, three years after he left Lockheed, when he was a director and vice-president in charge of its missiles system division. But Quesada apparently has not lost his "old school tie."

Last March 17 a Lockheed Electra turbo-jet plane disintegrated over Indiana, killing all passengers and crew members. This was the second such accident in recent months. Another Electra had similarly disintegrated over Texas the previous September. The Civil Aeronautics Board launched an investigation to see if these crashes were caused by some structural defect. Australia grounded its Electras and the Civil Aeronautics Board investigators demanded the U.S. do likewise.

At the time of the crash, 135 Electras were being operated by seven domestic airlines, which were worried about the loss of revenue a grounding order would entail. Some were talking about making Lockheed pay for their losses. Gen. Quesada called a meeting of the airlines and Lockheed. The next day he met privately with Lockheed officials. The result: instead of grounding the Electras, he merely ordered that they fly at reduced speeds.

KEPT IN THE AIR: This decision was bitterly attacked by Civil Aeronautics Board chairman James Durfee. In a letter to Quesada, Durfee demanded that all Electras be grounded until the cause of the crash be determined and until all Electras in service be inspected. Quesada refused. The Electras kept flying, even though the cause of the crash was not determined until two months later.

In mid-May investigators found a structural defect. Lockheed agreed with the findings and promised to repair at its its own expense all the Electras it sold. To date, only one Electra has undergone repairs. The others are still flying.

Last September another Electra crashed on the runway at La Guardia Airport. Apparently it was not due to any structural deficiency, but it again raised the demand that the Electras be grounded. Sen. Vance Hartke (D-Ind.) charged that the airlines are "playing with dynamite" by flying the Electras.

"The F.A.A. believes these planes are safe now and I hope they are right," he went on. "The difficulty is, there's only one way to prove they are wrong, and of course we don't want that."

BOSTON CRASH: Then, on Oct. 4, an Electra crashed at the Boston airport, killing 62 persons. Immediately Quesada stated that he believed the crash had been caused by starlings which had been sucked into the plane's turbo intake. Quesada still has not received an official report on the possible causes of the crash.

Lyndon Johnson, who until that time had been using an Electra for his campaign trips, switched planes. Many large corporations have ordered their executives not to use Electras. A Congressional investigation of the F.A.A. (under the chairmanship of Rep. Williams of Mississippi) was ordered after Quesada rushed to Boston and told a TV audience that the Electra was perfectly safe. It was reported in the magazine **Aviation Week and Space Technology** (March 28, 1960) that Quesada met privately with Lockheed officials after the Indiana Electra crash.

The Electras are still flying.

OTHER INFLUENCE: Whatever the reasons behind Quesada's decision, he saved Lockheed from possible law suits, which might have cost the company hundreds of millions instead of the $25 million which Lockheed has allocated for repairs.

The examples set by Thomas and Quesada thus make it difficult to believe that Burden, as a member of the Natl. Aeronautics and Space Council, was and is totally disinterested in the impact national policy decisions may have on Lockheed's balance sheet.

Lockheed furthermore is not only in a position to influence governmental policies through its "alumni," but also through the government "graduates" it hires. A recent House investigation revealed that Lockheed had 171 retired military officers on its payroll. Only General Dynamics, Lockheed's partner in the development of the Polaris missile, had more—186.

Lockheed, in addition, elected to its Board of Directors in 1958 Herbert Hoover Jr., a "graduate" of the State Dept. Mr. Hoover, as Special Adviser on World-Wide Petroleum Matters to Secy. of State Dulles, helped engineer the overthrow of the Mossadegh government in Iran in 1953 and is largely responsible for the establishment of the consortium which controls oil resources of that country. As a result for his success, he was appointed Under Secretary of State. Presumably, he is not without influence in the State Dept. today.

INFLUENCE ABROAD: Lockheed's NATO ties are another chapter in the story of its international operations, which go back to pre-World War II days.

In the 1930's Nazi Germany's air industry was not as technically advanced as in other countries. To overcome this deficiency, Germany asked aircraft experts from other countries for help.

Hall L. Hibbard, then a director of Lockheed, was invited by the Hitler government in 1935 to come to Germany. Hibbard, now both a director and senior vice-president of Lockheed, is so proud of his help to the Nazi government that today he includes it in the biographical sketch he furnishes **Who's Who.**

BOOST FOR LOCKHEED: Hibbard, undoubtedly, has reason to be proud. The competition of the rebulit German aircraft industry helped, rather than hindered, Lockheed. As the Germans built up their air force, so did the U.S. and its Western allies. The arms race was on and Lockheed prospered. The company's reported profits after taxes jumped from $218,000 when Hibbard went to Germany in 1935 to more than $8,000,000—or by 40-fold—in the height of World War II.

The situation in West Germany today is similar to that of Nazi Germany 25 years ago. Like Hitler, Adenauer, too, is determined to build a new Luftwaffe. Lockheed again is very much involved in this endeavor.

Shortly after the Western allies in 1955 lifted the World War II-imposed restrictions on the German aircraft industry, two of its most notorious members, Messerschmidt and Heinkel, formed a consortium, Fluezeug-Union Sud, to coordinate production facilities. Late in 1958, another company, Boelkow - Entwicklungen joined the consortium for the purpose of, in the words of a company spokesman, "preparing for the bigger tasks of the future." Other members today include Siebel and Dornier.

BIGGEST PLUM: For a time a political battle raged in West German and NATO circles as to what kind of planes the German manufacturers should build. The Germans, behind in tèchnical knowledge, decided for the present to build under license some foreign fighter planes. The Swedes, the British, the French, the Italians, and the Americans rushed in to grab what the magazine **Aviation Week and Space Technology** called "the biggest procurement plum" of all.

This "plum," estimated at around $600,000,000, finally fell into Lockheed's hands in the early part of last year. Under its terms, Lockheed will license Fluezeug-Union Sud to build the Lockheed F-104 Starfighter planes. Later, Lockheed and Fluezeug-Union Sud together received a contract for the Starfighters from the Belgian government over the bitter opposition of the French, who were trying to sell the NATO countries their Mirage fighter.

The exact techniques Lockheed employed to win the West German contract are probably a closely guarded secret. Lockheed board chairman Gross, however, did introduce to the stockholders at their meeting in May, 1959, the man who, according to Gross, "played a tremendously important part in getting the endorsement and purchase of the F-104 by the West German government."

I.G. FARBEN TIE: The man, who has been Lockheed's representative in Germany for "many years," is Dr. Guenther Frank-Fahle, managing partner of an obscure Frankfort firm, Deutsche Commerz GmbH. Dr. Frank-Fahle in years past was a high officer of a firm with an international reputation, I.G. Farben, which was the power behind the Nazi war machine.

Sen. Claude Pepper, in his introduction

(Continued on Page 4)

A 'SECURITY MISHAP' IN 1954

The Lavon Affair: Why Israel's political future hangs on it

By Ursula Wassermann
Guardian staff correspondent

TEL AVIV

THE POLITICAL SCENE here has been dominated recently by a struggle among the leaders of the ruling party, Mapai, over events that led to the resignation of Pinhas Lavon as Minister of Defense in Moshe Sharett's Cabinet in 1955.

The affair reached a climax when a military inquiry committee implied that there had been a conspiracy by Army officers to pin the blame on the Minister for an action resulting in what has been termed a "security mishap" in 1954—mention of the "mishap" itself is still subject to rigorous censorship.

The main antagonists have been Prime Minister Ben-Gurion and Pinhas Lavon, today Secretary-General of the Histadrut (Israel Federation of Labor).

Ben-Gurion has been criticized for alleged attempts to suppress the matter, although he had not been directly involved in the affair at the time: he had retired to the Negev outpost of Sde Boker after having handed over the Premiership to Sharett and the Defense portfolio to Lavon.

Soon after Lavon took office, friction developed between him and key figures in the security establishment, including Moshe Dayan, then Chief-of-Staff and today Minister of Agriculture, and Shimon Peres, then Director-General of the Ministry and today Deputy Minister of Defense under Ben-Gurion.

FORCED TO RESIGN: After the disaster of 1954, Lavon claimed the entire action had been undertaken without his knowledge, but rumors circulated in the Army that it had, in effect, been ordered by him. A secret commission was appointed at the time to investigate the matter. The commission heard evidence from army officers involved in the operation, who submitted documents purporting to show that Lavon had ordered the action. Lavon claimed that the documents were forged.

Gen. Dayan and Peres also appeared before the commission, with Peres charging that Lavon was unsuitable as Minister of Defense. The commission failed to reach a conclusion, and Lavon threatened to resign unless the government dismissed Peres for insubordination. His ultimatum was rejected and he himself was forced to resign. It was then that Ben-Gurion returned to the Cabinet as Minister of Defense.

For five years Lavon remained silent. The interesting question is why he broke his silence in the late summer of 1959. There are two basic reasons, one directly connected with the "Affair," the other with far wider political implications.

NEW DEVELOPMENT: In the first place, last August one of the 1955 witnesses against Lavon was brought to a secret trial in Jerusalem in a matter not connected with the 1954 incident. But in the course of that trial the witness allegedly stated that he had helped to fabricate the evidence against the Minister at the time.

Ben-Gurion asked the present chief-of-staff to institute a new inquiry. Accordingly, Justice Chaim Cohn headed a three-man military inquiry committee which produced proof that a reserve officer, with the approval of a regular officer, had induced a third man to give false evidence during the 1955 investigation. The Cohn Committee expressed no opinion as to who had ordered the disastrous operation in 1954, holding that the question was not within its field of inquiry.

Lavon demanded that the Parliamentary Foreign Affairs and Security Committee determine who had ordered the action. The committee has been holding hearings for the past two months against the opposition of Prime Minister Ben-Gurion, who demanded a legal investigation on the grounds that everybody in political life had already sided one way or another in the Lavon Affair. Lavon, claiming that he has never been charged with anything, refuses to appear before a juridical body. A compromise was finally found by establishing an inter-Ministerial Committee and through Sharett's somewhat half-hearted statement "rehabilitating" Lavon.

DAVID BEN-GURION
The thing would not stay buried

THE IMPLICATIONS: But this is hardly the end of the Affair. For the political implications which induced Pinhas Lavon to break his five-year silence go deep and threaten to affect the very structure of Israel society. Involved is the relationship of the army to civilian authority and the relationship of the Histadrut to the State.

Israelis, who have long prided themselves on their "people's army," were shocked to find that the army had become a state within the state, acting in contravention to civilian authority.

Despite Ben-Gurion's passionate defense of the army in Parliament recently, Israelis today ask themselves whether an army which can conspire to rid itself of an "undesirable" Minister may not, at some other point, stage a more serious putsch?

The second basic issue is that of the Histadrut versus the state. Without the Histadrut, the State of Israel could never have come into existence, yet its powers have been whittled down over the years. Quite naturally, the state has taken over various functions — employment service, social security, education — which had previously been the domain of the Histadrut. For some time an argument has been going on as to whether the vast network of Histadrut health insurance, caring for approximately 70% of the population, should not also be incorporated into a national health scheme along British lines.

BASIC ISSUE: The Histadrut, for long the most powerful economic and social factor in the country, naturally sees its vested interests threatened, especially since government economic policy in recent years has also been swinging away from a planned toward a private enterprise economy.

The basic issue in the Lavon Affair is, therefore, not to permit the army to become a state within the state and, at the same time, to retain the privileges of the Histadrut which used to be the prime example of a state within the state. This is the crux of the matter which the Lavon Affair has brought into focus. It has shaken the coalition government which is now composed of partners who distrust each other deeply on ideological grounds; is has split Mapai down the middle, with the old-timers rallying around Lavon, backed by the political Left, and the young generation, the hard young men turning to the activist policies of the Dayan-Peres group, who are said to enjoy the Prime Minister's full confidence.

The "security mishap" of 1954 will presumably be dealt with by the newly-appointed inter-Ministerial Committee, although it appears that the officers' misdemeanors, lies and forgeries may escape punishment due to the statute of limitation. The lives lost in that disastrous operation can in any case not be redeemed.

However, the Lavon Affair of 1960 has only begun; it will be carried on within each cell of Mapai, within the Histadrut and without, and on its outcome will depend Israel's political future for the next decade.

The Lockheed story

(Continued from Page 3)

to Richard Sasuly's book, **I. G. Farben**, wrote in 1947: "The German war maker, in a real sense, was not so much Adolph Hitler's brown-shirted, swaggering storm trooper, as it was the soberly-clad superficially honorable type—Hjalmar Schacht or Hermann Schmitz, president of I.G. Farben.

"It was the particular function of the leaders of I.G. Farben and a handful of other German corporations to start preparations for another world war, just as soon as World War I was over. It was they who assured Hitler's victory in Germany in 1933. And it was they who set the pace in the looting of Europe during those first years of the war while the Wehrmacht was rolling over conquered countries."

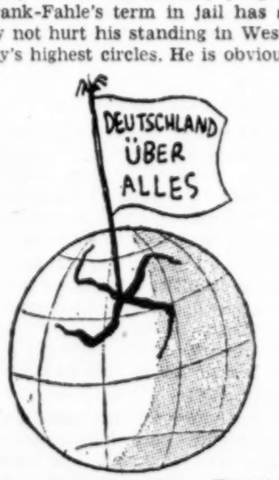
Frank-Fahle, who was described by James Martin, former chief of the Economic Warfare Section of the Dept. of Justice, as one of I.G. Farben's "best foreign negotiators," was secretary of the company's commercial committee, which was in charge of domestic and foreign sales activities.

NAZI MEMBERSHIP: On Sept. 10, 1937, Frank-Fahle and Baron George von Schnitzler, chairman of the commercial committee, jointly signed a decree ordering all the representatives abroad to join the Nazi Party. The decree read in part:

"It is understood that in no case will men be sent to our foreign companies who do not belong to the German Labor Front and do not possess a positive attitude toward the New Order. The men who are to be sent should make it their special duty to represent National Socialist German honor . . . The sales departments should also see to it that an appropriate amount of National Socialist literature is given them."

Frank-Fahle was one of the I.G. Farben officials arrested when the American army rolled into Frankfort in 1945. Between then and now, he has managed to become the German representative of the company which is the fourth largest beneficiary of the U.S. military program.

Frank-Fahle's term in jail has apparently not hurt his standing in West Germany's highest circles. He is obviously on very good terms with German Defense Minister Strauss, the driving spirit behind Bonn's re-armament program.



Humanité, Paris

THREAT TO PEACE: In a speech to Lockheed's stockholders, he said: "Our Minister of Defense, Dr. Franz Josef Strauss—who was prominent in making the West German decision to buy the Starfighter—told me that we in Germany must continue to cooperate closely with the U.S. We have to be armed and on guard."

Thus, true to his I.G. Farben background, Frank-Fahle is again paving the way for a re-armed Germany.

Pacifists jailed

(Continued from Page 1)

Chiefs of Staff, said: "The communist leaders have respect for only one thing—military power. I believe that the only effective restraint now or in the future on the leaders of the Kremlin and Peking is fear of the consequences in the exercise of military power."

Boarding the Ethan Allen climaxed five months of activities for the pacifists at the General Dynamics shipyards where nuclear submarines are built. They have picketed the yards, distributed leaflets and eight times attempted to board submarines.

A WAY TO SAY 'NO': Before each action the pacifists notified the Navy of their intent and were met by a fleet of war vessels. Navy officials warned them last month that future actions would result in jail sentences.

CNVA secretary Bradford Lyttle explained the group's actions: "Civil disobedience is the ultimate, nonviolent appeal we can make to the heads and hearts of our countrymen. When we climb aboard Polaris submarines and risk our lives, this is saying 'No' to these machines and the policies they represent."

CNVA, which advocates unilateral disarmament, will begin a new project Dec. 1, Transcontinental Walk for Peace. Peace walkers will start from San Francisco and cross the country to New York by June 1. Stops are planned along the way for picketing, distributing leaflets and acts of civil disobedience. Persons are expected to join the march for short periods as it passes through their city.

LONDON TO MOSCOW: On June 1, some of the walkers will leave for London to begin a march across Europe to Moscow. They plan to enter foreign countries even if they are not granted visas. They expect cooperation from European pacifists.

In a call to the walk, CNVA said: "We have reached a point in history where resort to war and violence will result in suicide for all of us. The use of today's weapons of mass annihilation would not only be man's most immoral but also his most impractical act . .

"What have our 'deterrence' policies turned aside? What have they discouraged? They have turned aside understanding, without which there can be no real peace. They have discouraged the development of man's most creative force —love—without which we cannot live."

ALL-NATIONS PROGRAM: CNVA offered a program of peace for all nations. It proposed that each government: (1) begin nonviolent resistance defense programs instead of military programs; (2) start economic readjustment to peace; (3) strive for initiative in disarmament and continue disarmament programs unilaterally, if necessary; (4) end all espionage; (5) stop economic and other nonmilitary pressures; (6) negotiate and arbitrate all international disputes; (7) seat mainland China and other nations in the UN; (8) sponsor a massive nonmilitary social and technical assistance to underdeveloped nations through the UN; (9) assist independence movements; (10) support student and cultural exchange, and (11) guarantee civil rights to all minorities.

"We present this program to the governments and to the people of the world," the pacifists said, "knowing that it will require discipline, courage and self-sacrifice. We ask those who share these goals to commit their time, their substance and their future to the building and sustaining of a world without war."

Further information may be obtained from Transcontinental Walk, CNVA, Rm 10, 158 Grand St., New York 13, N.Y.

SCHOOL SUIT HEADS FOR A DECISION

New Rochelle integration case: First Federal test in North

By Joanne Grant

A LONG CONTROVERSY over school segregation in suburban New Rochelle approached a climax in the closing days of November in a Federal District Court in New York City. Reaching beyond the Westchester County city, the decision will affect school segregation throughout the North.

In an action unique in a Northern court, parents of nine pupils at New Rochelle's Lincoln elementary school are seeking to enjoin the Board of Education from prohibiting their registration at white schools outside the district in which they live.

In a full day of testimony, School Superintendent Herbert C. Clish denied the parents' charges that education in a primarily Negro school was inferior education. But persistent questioning by Judge Irving R. Kaufman and plaintiffs' counsel, Paul K. Zuber, later drew from Dr. Clish the admission that he was "unhappy" about the racial imbalance of the 94.6% Negro student body at the school.

CONCEDES POINT: Dr. Clish blamed the "socio-economic background" and the low "level of aspiration" of Lincoln students when the results of a standard reading test were introduced showing that Lincoln students were from four months to nearly three years below the level of students at other New Rochelle schools. He at first denied and then conceded that the racial make-up of the student body might be a factor. He did not answer when Judge Kaufman asked: "What part does segregation, or racial imbalance of 95% Negro in one school, play?" "If the racial imbalance makes no difference why aren't you happy about it?" the judge asked. Dr. Clish replied: "I like people and don't like to see them unhappy."

Dr. Clish said that a better racial balance would help teach students to live together. Judge Kaufman then asked: "Don't you believe it would make for better learning?" Dr. Clish answered that he was not saying it wouldn't, but could not say that it would until there were scientific tests showing such a result.

A report by Supt. of Schools Carl F. Hansen of Washington, D.C., stating that in the five years since Washington desegregated its schools academic standards improved was repeatedly cited to show the good effects of integration. The report said that the rise in academic standards, coinciding with a rise in the number of Negroes enrolled, is testimony to "the capacity of the Negro pupil to respond to educational opportunity."

PRESSURE CHARGED: Other evidence introduced attempted to show pressure by the Board on school principals and PTA leaders seeking their support in a referendum last May 24 which approved a new $1,300,000 Lincoln school on the present site in a nearly all-Negro neighborhood. A letter favoring the new school from Dr. Barbara Mason, Negro principal of the nearly all-white Roosevelt school, said that the "main issue in the referendum is integration." Dr. Clish said that he had "unofficially" learned that there was "feeling in the community" concerning the redistribution of Negro pupils if a new Lincoln school were not built.

Evidence was also introduced to show that transfers out of their neighborhoods were granted to children of Board members, school principals and teachers in violation of the "neighborhood school policy" which the Board has cited as grounds for limiting Lincoln area students to Lincoln school. At issue was the use of the neighborhood school policy to perpetuate segregation. Lincoln parents seek the establishment of "open enrollment" or voluntary transfers. At the end of the day's testimony Judge Kaufman denied a motion by Julius Weiss, attorney for the Board, and Dr. Clish, asking for a denial of the temporary injunction.

DELIBERATE POLICY: During the hearing eight witnesses were called in an attempt to prove that Lincoln is a segregated school. Among them were two members of the Board, Nolan Fallahay, an English professor at Iona College, and Mrs. Maralynn G. Pierce, a social worker and only Negro Board member. Mrs. Pierce said that despite opposition to a new school on the same site by numerous civic and religious organizations, the Board actively campaigned for a yes vote in the referendum. Plaintiffs are attempting to prove that the Board is deliberately perpetuating segregation.

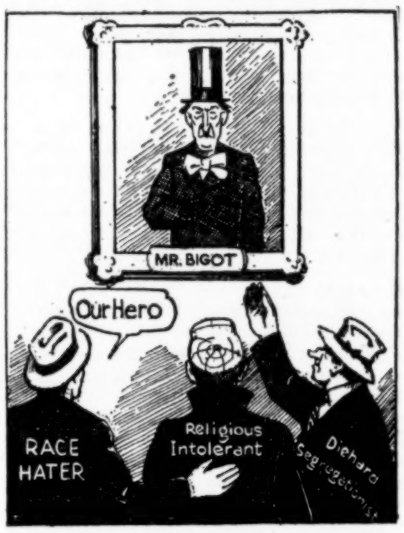
Mrs. Frederick White, tutor of the Lincoln children being withheld from school by their parents, said that the Lincoln school district had been repeatedly rezoned to include all Negroes in the area. Mrs. White cited a house-to-house survey she had made which showed that on streets where Negroes and whites lived Negro children attended Lincoln while whites attended other schools.

One of the plaintiffs, Mrs. Hallie Taylor, testified that she had taken her eight-year-old daughter Leslie out of Lincoln because she was not working up to her full potential. A New York City school psychologist, William Sneed, said that Leslie had an I.Q. of 136 but that her reading and vocabulary were not as good as they should be.

REPORTS CITED: The authors of two reports issued in 1957 testified that they had found Lincoln school to be a "racially segregated school." Dr. Dan W. Dodson, New York University educator, had said in his report that rebuilding Lincoln school "would further reinforce the segregation of Negroes."

His report, compiled by five professors, had recommended that the Board "take the initiative in bringing together other governmental agencies and interested community groups in an attack on the basic problem of race relations in New Rochelle of which the racial imbalance in the schools is only one aspect."

Theron A. Johnson, director of intercultural relations for the New York State Dept. of Education and author of the second report, testified that when a school is known as a Negro school it is regarded by the community and the pupils as inferior. In cross-examination by Weiss, Mr. Johnson said that research had shown that only in a predominantly Negro school did pupils suffer adverse effects. Mr. Weiss then asked: "What do you think makes a Negro inferior to a white man?" Mr. Johnson angrily replied: "I did not say that. You said that, Mr. Weiss."



Stockett, Baltimore Afro-American

Speaking of birds of a feather . . .

LAWYERS GUILD BRIEF: On Nov. 28 the school board began presentation of its case. Whether or not the temporary injunction is granted the case will be tried to determine a permanent solution unless the school board meets before the trial date to resolve the controversy.

The Natl. Lawyers Guild has entered an amicus curiae (friend of the court) brief stating: ". . . . The controlling consideration is that the Supreme Court . . . in finding that segregated education is injurious to children, laid down the constitutional principle that segregated education violates the constitutional rights of the children of minority groups."

The brief concludes: "It clearly appears that Negro children in the City of New Rochelle represented as a class by plaintiffs are denied the equal protection of the laws in violation of the Constitution by virtue of the action of the Board of Education which restricts them to segregated schools and denies them the right to transfer for purposes of integration."

11-YEAR FIGHT: In another action involving the Lincoln parents Judge Robert J. Burton of New Rochelle City Court dismissed disorderly conduct charges brought when the parents tried to register children at an all-white school outside the Lincoln district. The judge said the penal law "cannot be invoked as a complete restraint' upon the rights of people to speak freely, to petition those in authority and to protect regulations of boards of education."

The controversy over the 62-year-old nearly all-Negro school has been going on for over 11 years. Last year in an appeal to the State Commissioner of Education to prevent construction of a new school on the site of the old, eight organizations submitted friend of the court briefs. The action is still pending in the State Education Dept.

A historical note is that in the 19th century New Rochelle was the only town in Westchester county which still maintained a separate school for Negroes. In 1885 the school board ruled that the segregated school was no longer a special school for Negroes and in 1889 the school was closed and Negro pupils dispersed to other schools. It was not until 1916 that the first Negro was graduated from New Rochelle high school. Yet New Rochelle today with its segregated school is the only city in New York State to have a Negro principal of a white school.

ECLC banquet moved

THE EMERGENCY CIVIL Liberties Committee has announced that the big demand for reservations for its Bill of Rights dinner in New York City on Dec. 15 has necessitated a transfer from the Waldorf-Astoria to the Grand Ballroom of the Commodore.

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New reader

NEW YORK, N.Y.

I'm just another new reader who wants to thank you deeply—oh, so deeply—for being in existence. I clutch your paper more firmly than ever—as all my friends do. **Marge Lewis**

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HERE IS THE RECORD

Two years of De Gaulle and the Fifth Republic

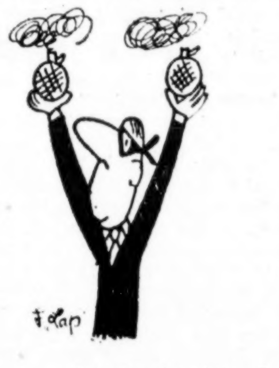
The following dispatch by the GUARDIAN's Paris correspondent was written before President de Gaulle's call for a nation-wide French referendum on his proposal for an "Algerian" Algeria. At press-time the details of his proposal had not been made public, nor was it clear what role—if any—the Algerian Liberal Front (FLN) would play in his scheme of things.

By Anne Bauer
Guardian staff correspondent

PARIS

AS THE FIFTH REPUBLIC enters its third year of existence, a general stock-taking reveals some of its most basic policies. Here is the record—necessarily incomplete—in various areas of French life.

ALGERIA. Having been the motivating factor in the 1958 Gaullist wave, it has become the supreme test of the government. After two years of De Gaulle, hope for a peaceful settlement has reached an all-time low; the De Gaulle-can-do-it optimism at home has turned into derision; De Gaulle's indisputable credit with the Algerians has been wasted away. De Gaulle's politics of "ruse" and "mystery" has divided the nation beyond repair, has created a pre-civil war climate at home and has moved Algeria almost irretrievably out of the orbit of French friendship and assistance.



Lap, Canard Enchaine, Paris

EDUCATION: For the first time since the separation of State and Church in 1904 (except for the Pétain regime), church-controlled private schools are on the same footing with state-run public ones. Tax money has been put aside for them while public schools remain woefully short of funds. An anti-religious-school petition signed by nearly 11 million (about 50% of the voters) has been to no avail. This question, in a country which thought it had settled the issue of Church influence permanently 50 years ago, profoundly divides the nation. One of the cornerstones of the Republic—a non-denominational, religiously-neutral school system in which children of all creeds and beliefs are brought up together—this principle which has given France generations of remarkable cadres before and after World War I has been shaken to the core.

FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION. The censorship of the Fourth Republic has become more firmly entrenched. Political film censorship, for example, has recently barred from French screens a documentary on North Korea as well as a film by prizewinner Jean-Luc Godard (A Bout de Souffle) because its deals with desertion, torture and the secret services.

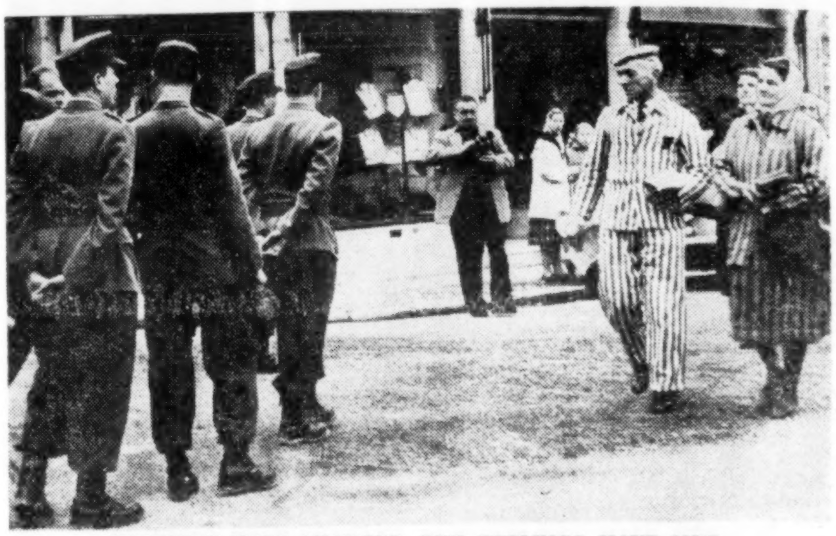
Since late September, McCarthyism has raised its ugly head for the first time. As reported earlier in the GUARDIAN, all signers of the "Manifesto on the Right to Refuse Service in the Algerian War" are banned from the state radio and TV and state-subsidized film and theater work. Civil servants who signed have been dismissed from their jobs on 25% of their salary, with no prospect of reinstatement.

In the press, seizures continue as the most effective (because financial) means of curbing opposition. A new press law aimed at curbing the opposition more efficiently has been shelved—at least temporarily—after protests from the entire press, left to extreme right.

JUSTICE. Military courts have taken the place of civilian ones not only in Algeria but in France also, in all "Algerian" cases involving the "internal and external safety of the State." Two recent legal dispositions, published after the "scandal" of the Jeanson trial, further limit the defendant's rights, and any lawyer suspended in the course of a trial will immediately be replaced by a court-appointed one.

Another new decree extends the coverage of "crimes against the safety of the State" to include French Commonwealth and NATO members. Punishable under the new decree is any action considered harmful, for example, to Adenauer Germany. It is also a neat way of keeping in office the regimes Paris wants in the African member-states of the French Commonwealth.

THE FRENCH COMMUNITY: De Gaulle's effort to construct a French Commonwealth with a door open to independence to all member states—his most liberal undertaking—has proved too little and too late. Because De Gaulle first played the "balkanization" card for Africa, Guinea's Seku Touré chose independence, which was quickly baptized 'secession" by Paris and accepted with hostility. A year later De Gaulle came around to supporting the pro-federation principle in the formation of the Mali Federation. This was originally planned as a four-state (Senegal, Sudan, Haute Volta, Dahomey) proposition, but was finally made up as a two-state (Senegal, Sudan) federation. He alienated the Ivory Coast leader, Huphuet Boigny, who asked immediate independence, in turn, for his own Conseil de l'Entente (Ivory Coast, Haute Volta, Niger and Dahomey). Today, after Paris helped to break up the Mali Federation and gave diplomatic favor to Senegal, the Sudan—"the arm and the brains" of that part of Africa—is going in Touré's progressive direction.



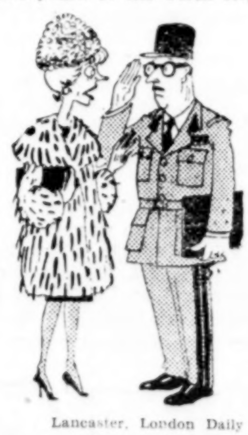
FASHIONS HAVE CHANGED, BUT FEELINGS HAVE NOT

In Mourmelon, France, former French inmates of German concentration camps don their striped uniforms in silent protest over the presence of the first German soldiers of the new German army who are training on French soil. In all 35,000 German troops will do part of their service in France each year at air and naval bases and territory for field maneuvers at the Bundeswehr's disposal. The soldiers got special psychological training on behavior before their departure.

Inevitably, the French Commonwealth is changing into a group of independent states, but much African goodwill has been wasted and good intentions dissipated in the process.

INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. De Gaulle's foreign policy, proclaiming itself pro-European, pro-Atlantic, and pro-national independence, is loaded with contradictions, and does not have the material means of fulfillment. His pro-Atlantic and pro-European (and particularly pro-German) steps have angered Moscow. His European plans (a "third force" under French leadership) have displeased Washington and been rejected out of hand by Bonn. His independence scheme (the building of a national French atomic war force) has put both Washington and Bonn out of sorts, though it may, in the end, prove an alibi for Bonn to claim the same privilege for herself.

After two years of the Fifth Republic, France finds herself more isolated internationally than in a long time.



Lancaster, London Daily Express

"I do hope you don't mind my asking, mon colonel, but whose side exactly are the boys who've got charge of that H-bomb on?"

In practical terms, two facts stand out for the average citizen:

- The French nuclear weapons program, way beyond the country's means and costing the tax-payer dearly, will produce 10 A-bombs a year by 1966. It will not complete its first H-bomb before 1967, and—according to technical observers—any rockets unless the projected budget is multiplied seven-fold.
- By way of "independence," 35,000 soldiers of the new German Bundeswehr are taking part of their military training on French soil.

LIVING STANDARDS: Returning from his summer holiday, the average citizen found increases in rent, subway and bus fares, millet and bread (all state controlled), and the prices of meat, leather, textiles, etc., going up. It was only one of a series of bad surprises. According to official figures, retail prices have gone up 11% in two years. Although industrial production is up 9%, most wage earners have had only negligible raises.

But for Big Business net profits have increased by 15.8% in the last two years; the turnover is up 13%; stock exchange shares have doubled in value since the beginning of '58.

THE ECONOMY. There has been much official talk of a return of a healthy French economy through austerity. In 1958 industrial production began rising comfortably. But since the beginning of this year, it has fallen back—compared with Germany—in these index proportions:

	Jan '58	*Dec. '59*	*July '60*
France	152	175	171
Germany	152	176	182

Compared with Italy, the average French production index for the first half of '60 has risen 10% over the same period of '59, Italy's 18%. French exports—particularly steel and automobiles—have fallen off markedly, and economists agree that only a vast increase in domestic purchasing power can save the economy from a period of stagnation.

The firing of 3,000 automobile workers from the state-controlled Renault plants late last month was a symbol and a warning. Renault is a typical case of rapidly-expanding production through automation (its production doubled between '55 and '60 with almost the same number of workers), and falling sales. Sales are off because of shrinking domestic outlets (diminished purchasing power, high auto taxes, exorbitant gas prices) and over-anticipated foreign markets.

Explanations for the fundamental causes of the country's economic difficulties range from the Algerian war to the needed but still lacking streamlining of antiquated economic structures.

DEMOCRACY: It was known that the executive would far outweigh the other two branches of government in the Fifth Republic. But things have moved far beyond expectation. Parliament has become a farce. Cabinet Ministers sometimes phone a newspaper to find out what the agenda of the next cabinet meeting will be. Occasionally they find their signature under a newly-published law of which they know nothing.

The Fifth Republic has instituted government-by-commission. The commissions work efficiently but discreetly. Particularly unpopular laws are generally published on Sundays or during the summer holiday period.

As for executive relations with the press, disregard, disdain and misinformation are the order of the day.

The intelligence and judgment of the voter are held in low esteem if one judges by quotes from De Gaulle's speeches on his recent tours of the provinces. On the other hand, on his latest trip to the south of France, he quoted almost exactly Louis XIV's "I am the State." And he meant it.

Lockheed, the Electra, the Germans and you

The stories you read in the GUARDIAN—like the Lockheed story (page 3)—are stories which make the GUARDIAN a very special paper. Today, more than ever, Americans should have the GUARDIAN's kind of reporting to reach intelligent points of view. Do your friends a good turn by sending them subs. Just $1 for 13 weeks, $5 for a full year.

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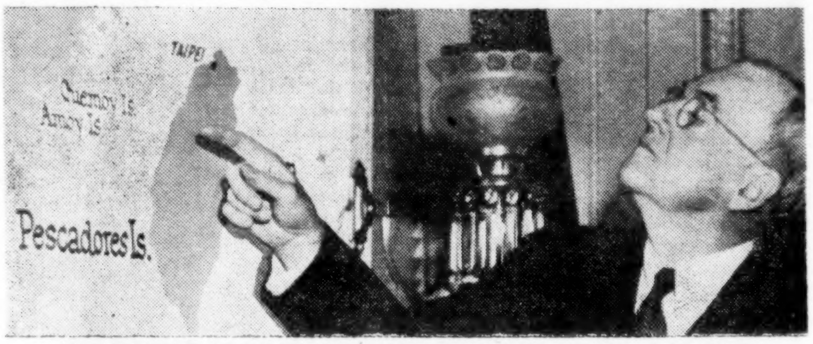
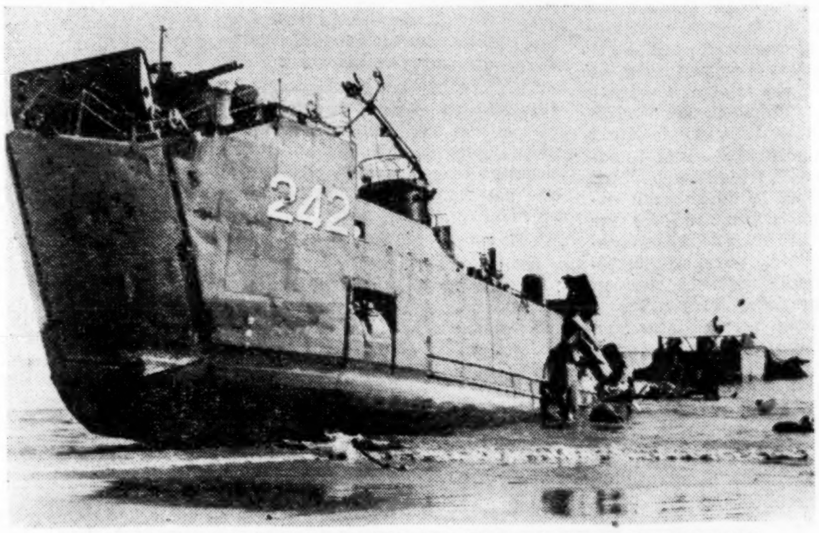
A NOTE TO CHESTER BOWLES AND OTHER LIBERAL DEMOCRATS

Taiwan, Quemoy, Matsu: The view from Peking

By Anna Louise Strong
Guardian staff correspondent


TAIPEI
Quemoy Is.
Amoy Is.
Pescadores Is.

THE MASTER AS HE PLANNED THE STRATEGY OF FOLLY IN 1955
The late Secy. of State John Foster Dulles inspects "his" Taiwan property



THE STRATEGY COMES TO REST ON THE BEACHES OF QUEMOY
A made-in-U.S.A. LST (Chiang's) lies helpless after a 1958 shelling

PEKING

NOW THAT Nixon and Kennedy gave a billion dollar advertisement to Quemoy and Matsu as an American election issue, a few words from this city may be in order. China's "vested interest" in those offshore islands is as old as China's history, ten times as old as our United States. Quemoy, five miles from the mainland, guards the port of Amoy. Matsu, a bit further out, does the same for Foochow.

From Peking one watched with sardonic amusement the arrogant ignorance of Presidential candidates who debated whether Chiang Kai-shek should evacuate those islands "as prudent tactics," or defend them as a moral issue for the free world. For this "great debate" of the American election might be for Peking to decide!

The matter really concerns a bigger, more beautiful island a hundred miles further out in the blue Pacific which China has owned for several hundred years under the name "Taiwan." Americans use the Portuguese name: "Formosa," or "Beautiful." For everyone who sees that island wants it. The Dutch took it for a time and it came back to China. Japan took it for 50 years or so and again it came back to China. And now America wants it too.

SHY PENTAGON: General MacArthur had only to lay eyes on it to say: "Taiwan dominates the whole Asian coast from Vladivostok to Singapore," and thus to make the Pentagon desirous. The Pentagon owns a lot of H-Bombs, but these are not suitable for wooing. The Pentagon has a fatal weakness; it is too shy to say flatly to the American people: "We want that island so we can dominate the whole coast of Asia." The Pentagon has to do it indirectly and go all around the block. Especially since America signed within recent years two treaties, at Cairo and Potsdam, saying that Taiwan belonged to China. We even returned it to China in the last days of Chiang

Eleven years ago when Chiang fled from the Chinese people's revolution, he took refuge on Taiwan with U.S. aid. So the Pentagon began a creeping take-over, to inherit Taiwan from Chiang. By paying the bills for Chiang's government and army on Taiwan, the Pentagon got the right to pay the bills for an American military base. From its naval base on Taiwan, the U.S. Seventh Fleet patrols the China Seas. The Pentagon holds "Joint War Games" on Taiwan and in the adjacent waters; some of Chiang's men take part in them, but increasingly most of the participants are U.S. Marines.

Washington, which never lets a day pass without berating Peking as "aggressor," uses her Taiwan base to invade China's territorial waters and air by sundry ships and planes. "Aggressive Peking" does not even shoot the planes down, as Russia did the U-2. Peking sends "serious warnings" on the open radio instead. Peking has sent more than 120 such warnings in the past two years, each time noting several ships or planes.

LOGIC VS. SLOGANS: Peking has held one hundred meetings with America in Warsaw in five years, trying to negotiate these tensions. Nobody gets anywhere because Peking deals in logic and America in moral slogans. America tells China to "renounce the use of force to retake Taiwan." Peking replies: "Let us both renounce force and the threat of force in our mutual affairs." America says: "But you must admit my right of self-defense on Taiwan." Replies Peking: "What right of self-defense can you have on a Chinese island? If it is right for you to hold it by force, it is right for us to take it by force." So the Pentagon's direct courtship of Taiwan gets nowhere. Peking long ago offered to negotiate directly with Chiang. But Peking does not accept Washington as go-between.

We turn now to Quemoy where Chiang has a garrison of some 70,000 men on a small island with possibly 30,000 civilians. Chiang put them there to drop spies and make commando raids on the mainland, and as a symbol of his eventual return.

Years ago it became clear to the U.S. that Quemoy and Matsu are military liabilities in war, being costly to maintain and impossible to hold against serious assault. Later it became clear that they were political liabilities in any scheme to take over Taiwan. For Dulles, who invented the idea of "Two Chinas," one on the mainland and one on Taiwan, thought he might get the UN to give the U.S. a trusteeship over that beautiful island. But only an insane person would discuss a trusteeship for Quemoy, in gunshot of the China coast.

CONCEALED DEALS: So Dulles began to separate Quemoy from Taiwan. Not openly; for all such deals are concealed. He urged Chiang to take his troops off that "indefensible island," or at least to reduce his garrison, which, of course, would make them more indefensible still. He hinted to Peking that he might trade the islands for a quit-claim deed to Taiwan; or even to a "renouncement of force by China," which would be a kind of indirect "quit-claim deed" in proper diplomatic words.

Now Chiang and Peking disagree on most things, but they agree on one thing: That Taiwan is part of China, and China is one, not two!

Two years ago a little shooting war began over Quemoy, which became comic opera at its best. Peking stepped up the shooting, and the U.S. rushed warships from the Mediterranean Fleet to the Far East. As soon as the U.S. warships reached the Pacific, Peking stopped shooting. Chinese friends smiled: "Well, it relieved Iraq." Sure enough, the U.S. troops left Lebanon and didn't attack Iraq, lacking the assistance of the full Mediterranean fleet.

All Peking's plans for shooting or not shooting were conveyed to Chiang's soldiers on Quemoy by megaphone or radio. The Quemoy shooting became a cosy family affair. Several times Peking announced "vacations," and urged Chiang's troops to bring in plenty of supplies and munitions. Chiang's troops did so. Their American advisers at first exulted: "We have out-smarted Peking." Finally they understood that for some odd reason, Peking wanted to keep Chiang's troops on Quemoy.

Dulles, I think, got the point first. When he saw that Peking had stopped shooting, he flew from Washington to Taiwan to "formalize the cease fire." As Dulles passed through Alaska, Peking began shooting again. This strengthened Chiang against Dulles; Chiang refused to abandon Quemoy.

THE STRATEGY: When Dulles went home defeated, Peking changed tactics again. This time Peking announced that shooting would be only on odd dates and not on even dates. This made the war a ridiculous military exercise in the soldiers' eyes. Dulles angrily denounced Peking's "inhumanity" for this "crazy every-other-day shooting without military objective." Just why every-day shooting is more humane than every-other-day was not disclosed. But the "military objective" gradually became clear.

Peking was reinforcing Chiang against Dulles, and tying Taiwan to Quemoy so that Dulles could not make a trusteeship for Taiwan. Peking was making Quemoy a joint shooting-range, tying Taiwan to China. From that time Chiang's men on Quemoy and Peking's on the mainland shoot on announced schedules and chat by megaphone.

Now comes the American election, raising again the question: Shall Chiang evacuate Quemoy or defend it for the free world? Chinese watch with amusement. Isn't this already settled between Chiang and Peking?

It is too bad that Chester Bowles, one of our better candidates for Secretary of State, brought out last April in **Foreign Affairs,** as a new plan for China, the same old plan on which Dulles failed. Chester will "force Chiang" to take his soldiers off Quemoy and will "tell Peking" that any attempt by China to take Taiwan will be opposed by America "by any means in its power," i.e. by H-Bombs. Even if Taiwan should some day have a regime that WANTS to join Peking, America will prevent this too.

FAMILY AFFAIR: When one sees a presumably liberal Democrat saying that Taiwan, which America has twice by treaty stated to be a Chinese island, will be kept from joining China even if Taiwan desires, one's first thought is: "How aggressive can a liberal Democrat be? Is he out for a world war?"

Probably we need not worry. Chester will hardly use H-Bombs just for Quemoy. Chiang and Peking will protect that little island, the shooting-range they need to link the mainland with Taiwan. And how will Chester make Chiang take his soldiers off Quemoy, if Peking does not let them go?

Chester should have noticed the almost tender tones with which Peking radioed two years ago to "compatriots on Taiwan and Quemoy" saying: "Most of you, we know, are patriots and only a few are traitors." Americans are so used to underestimate other nations, and especially the colored peoples, that they paid no heed to those words. But was not Mao Tse-tung saying to Chiang Kai-shek quite openly: "Even if you will not negotiate the civil war, remember we are both Chinese. We will not give America our Taiwan."

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BOOKS

Growing up in the South

DULY WARNED by reviewers that the price of this novel out of the South* would purchase for them no dreams of incest or homosexuality, readers have made it a best-seller. What they have bought is a pleasant novel, written with a great deal of genuine humor and charm, presenting a slice of Southern life without omitting its most unpleasant and uncharming aspects, the savagery and ignorance of racism.

The story, if one can call it that—there is barely any plot—is given through the experiences of a little girl in rural Alabama in the 1930's, who observes and feels sharply while possessing a pair of fists and a tongue never, so far as we can recall, bestowed upon any "sensitive child" of fiction.

"Scout" (Jean Louise) and her older brother, Jem, are forced to learn restraint and dignity when the learning is hardest: in the summer that most of the community united against their lawyer-father because he accepts a court appointment to defend a Negro charged with rape. The charge is easily demolished with some cross-examination and a surprise piece of evidence, but this is the Deep South and the verdict is still "Guilty." The novel ends with Atticus, the father, trying to piece together some sort of sense and hope out of the situation for the two children.

IT IS A PITY that, with so much good intention and so many good qualities, the book is not a better one. Miss Lee seems unable to make up her mind whether she is writing a string of vignettes rather in the **New Yorker** style or a serious exploration of ignorance, prejudice, and pretentiousness.

Obviously she is more at ease with the former, which occupy the larger portion of the novel—and neither the charm nor humor is allowed to obscure the sharpness of some of the portraiture in these sections, especially when it is turned upon the carriers of the genteel tradition. But the "light touch," while sometimes too light, is surer than the author's direct handling of serious questions. This she attempts to do through Atticus, who is prepared for the role by being presented throughout as a living poem of liberalism, wisdom, patience, humor, justice, sympathy, and firmness, besides being a crack shot who hasn't fired a rifle in years but can bring down a mad dog in a feat of marksmanship that would have flabbergasted James Fenimore Cooper.

He has "background" too, and his liberalism is first cousin, once removed, to **noblesse oblige,** which doesn't make for realism in some of his interpretations. One feels that Miss Lee herself is not too happy with the character or the situation she has created in this part of the book, which sometimes falters — once almost fatally, in the scene when little Jean Louise, completely out of character, talks a group of lynchers into going home.

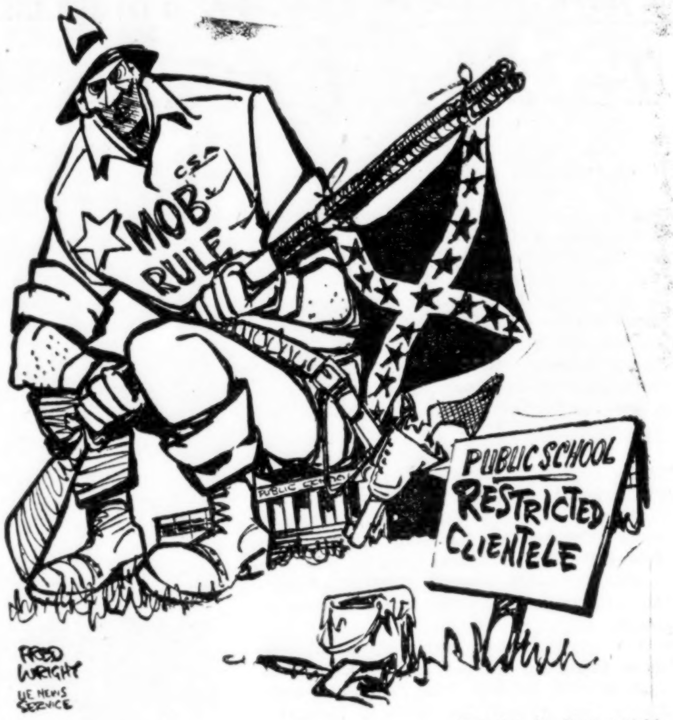
YET THE STORY of the trial itself is excellent, the Negroes are portrayed with dignity, if briefly and over-simply, and the brutal fact is forcibly driven in that any white man, however bestial and despicable, can commit legal murder if his victim is any Negro, however innocent.

This point is gratuitously flattened by Atticus' little lecture at the end on the duty of more literate and responsible citizens (the "nicer" people," one gathers) to avert further murders by taking their rightful places on the jury.

His client was not victimized solely by the illiterate, the rural outlanders, and the religious "foot-washers." Nor will he ever be rescued by the exclusive efforts of a few "enlightened" whites preaching civic duty to their social peers.

—Barbara Giles

**TO KILL A MOCKING BIRD, by Lee Harper. J. B. Lippincott Co. 296 pp. $3.95.*



Drawing by Fred Wright

Integration and the Inquisition

THE SOUTHERN Conference Educational Fund has published two pamphlets which explain why persons working for integration and social progress refuse to answer questions of Federal and state investigating committees.

The first, entitled **How Legislative Inquisition Stifles Integration and Social Progress,** is based on the cases of Negro and white Southerners who have defied such committees by citing the First Amendment to the Constitution. The cover carries a statement of principle made by Carl Braden, white integration worker, to the House Committee on Un-American Activities when he was questioned in 1958. Braden's one-year contempt sentence is being reviewed by the Supreme Court.

Parallels to the life of Jesus are shown in the second pamphlet, by Clifford J. Durr, entitled **Jesus as a Free Speech Victim**. Durr, now an attorney in Montgomery, Ala., was a prominent figure in the New Deal.

Both pamphlets are available from the Southern Conference Educational Fund, 822 Perdido St., New Orleans 12, La. The one on inquisitions is 10c; the Durr pamphlet is 5c. There are reduced rates for bulk orders.

NEW YORK

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"Have raincoat, need suit. Got?" Another time we mentioned something about imperfections and people beat a path to our door shopping for imperfections! One fellow was sure he found one: no buttonhole in the lapel. Buttonhole for what? Who wears carnations?

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NEW YORK

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New York vs. the Un-Americans

A GROUP OF NEW YORKERS have announced the formation of a New York Council to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee. The committee calls for a five point program of action between now and the convening of the Congress which must act on continuing the House Committee when it comes up under a rules vote on opening day.

- Circularizing a petition to abolish the committee addressed to all New York City Congressmen.
- Letters to Congressmen calling for abolition.
- Letters to Rep. James Roosevelt (D-Calif.) in support of his previously announced stand for abolition.
- Mass distribution of copies of a speech by Roosevelt calling for abolition. (The committee has 125,000 copies of this speech and needs help to distribute them.)
- A delegation to Washington Jan. 2, the day before Congress convenes, to urge Congressmen to vote against continuing the committee.

The New York Council noted that nationwide plans called for distribution of 650,000 copies of the Roosevelt speech; much of this already accomplished in other states. All who can participate in this are asked to contact Mrs. Sandra Rosenblum, secretary of the New York Council, 106 E. 208th St., Bronx 67, N.Y. Phone: OL 5-0252.

Decade of deceit

(Continued from Page 1)

If a struggle ensues, it might end—as Mali's chief delegate warned the Assembly—by Kasavubu "ruling over an acre of land while holding on to the Congo's seat at the UN." This would duplicate the situation in the UN regarding China.

SITUATION IN LAOS: Civil strife in the Congo would repeat what has been happening in Laos and South Vietnam. Laotian Premier Prince Souvanna Phouma has signed an agreement with his half-brother, the left-wing Pathet Lao leader Prince Souphanouvong, to form a neutralist, united-front government which would also include the group led by the right-wing Gen. Phoumi Nosavan. But with U.S. military and economic support, Nosavan has refused to join the government.

When Phouma announced he would send his forces against Nosavan's stronghold in Luang Prabang, the **AP** reported (Nov. 15) that the U.S. State Dept. "in a strongly worded statement" told him to desist. The following day the Premier bitterly rebuked the U.S. for "illegally" supporting Nosavan and transforming the civil strife in Laos into "an international problem." Phouma nevertheless went ahead with forming a coalition administration and announced that a Laotian goodwill mission might go to China.

DR. DAN'S LIFE: In South Vietnam, President Diem survived ouster attempts by a Revolutionary Committee comprising a brigade of paratroopers and such eminent civilians as Dr. Phan Quang Dan and Tran Van Van. Educated at the Sorbonne and Harvard, Dr. Dan has devoted his life to ministering to the poor. He was the secretary general of the Free Democratic Party of which Van was a leader and which Diem never allowed to register as a legal party.

The party's program included lowering the salaries of assemblymen, liberating political prisoners, fighting against corruption and halting forced labor to build "agrovilles"—rural concentration camps where peasants were herded for control against "subversion." Dan often told newsmen: "We now have neither freedom nor security." At last report, the paratroop leaders had fled to Cambodia for political asylum, Dan was in jail and Diem had unleashed a reign of terror.

A 10-YEAR RECORD: These are the results of U.S. policy for the last decade toward the emerging nations of Africa and Asia—a policy allegedly based on protecting these lands from "communist invasion or subversion," and securing the U.S. against "another Pearl Harbor."

In reality U.S. policy has striven to maintain access to raw materials and cheap labor, to prevent underdeveloped countries from forming alliances for mutual benefit and from emulating methods the socialist countries have used to modernize all aspects of their society. Under the guise of anti-communism Washington intervened in the Chinese and Korean civil wars and the Indochina war of liberation; buttressed Chiang in Taiwan, Rhee in South Korea and Diem in South Vietnam. It brought under the "protection" of SEATO the tyrannical regimes of Pakistan and Thailand, and spread SEATO's mantle over Laos, Cambodia and South Vietnam—although the 1954 Geneva agreement pledged these three states to neutrality. The U.S. spent and continues to spend untold millions of American tax dollars to maintain the status quo in all these countries.

"FANTASTIC SUMS": Washington has been mum regarding freedom for the Africans. It has never raised a voice against Spanish and Portuguese rule in Africa, winked at the use of NATO forces and weapons against the Algerians, and most recently opposed transfer to UN trusteeship of South-West Africa, mandated to and expropriated by South Africa. Most recently in the Congo it has intrigued to oust Lumumba, favored Kasavubu and fostered the rise to power of Mobutu.

Ghana's representative Welbeck said on Nov. 23 that "Mobutu has been receiving fantastic sums of money and ammunition to disrupt the machinery of the legal government of the Congo." In Katanga, the London **Daily Express** correspondent (Sept. 21) reported talk "of 'a holding company' composed of Americans, Germans and British (in that order, I fear) operating the vast interests of the Union Miniere."

But the old witchcraft based on the Communist bogey has been losing its efficacy fast, and the muscle-flexing, "show the flag" visits of the U.S. Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean, the Seventh Fleet in the Pacific and the most recent dispatch of destroyers and marines to the West coast of Africa are failing to stifle protests and uprisings against U.S.-protected tryants.

JAIL AND FLIGHT: Chiang has arrested his critic, **Free China** editor Lei Chen, and tried to bribe Li Wan Chu into abandoning the organization of the China Democratic Party in opposition to the Kuomintang.

Rhee has fled to sunny Hawaii and the New People's Party in South Korea, with 65 seats in the Lower House, has announced a policy of renewing cultural relations and communications with North Korea and sent out feelers for "neutralization" of both halves of Korea.

Cambodia's Premier Prince Sihanouk has embraced neutralism. Laotian Premier Phouma has been working toward a united front despite Washington's characterization of the Pathet Lao as "communist."

Diem, who has filled his jails with "some tens of thousands [of] political dissenters and rivals," was "in a shaky seat" (Washington **Post**, Nov. 17, 22).

The Communist bogey has worn so thin in the Far East that Thailand's Premier Thanarat has threatened to negotiate a trade-and-aid agreement with Moscow if Washington failed to raise the ante.

NO FIRE, NO BRIMSTONE: Rubbing elbows with socialist members of the UN and meeting cordial receptions in Peking, Africans have come to realize that communism is not synonymous with infamy, that communists do not breathe fire and brimstone. Meeting Mali's "most important resources—strong, able men," A. M. Rosenthal reported in the New York **Times' Magazine** (Nov. 20): "All of them are leftist, some seem to be African Marxists, perhaps Soviet-style Communists. They are the most impressive group of leaders this reporter met in Africa—confident, austere in personal honesty, willing to talk and willing to listen, and determined to act."

A European told Rosenthal in Accra: "There's no point screaming, 'Beware of the Communists,' at them. It is not the Communists who are treating Africans like subhumans in South Africa and . . . shooting Africans in Salisbury. It is us, the Westerners. And this is what counts to Ghanaians. Telling Ghanaians to beware of Communists is like telling a man in a burning house not to go outside because it may start to snow."

TOURE'S MESSAGE: Afro-Asians are not impressed by U.S. warships off their shores. Ghana has formed an alliance with both Guinea and Mali. Indian Premier Nehru, despite Mobutu's demand for withdrawal of pro-Lumumba UN forces, has refused to recall Indian troops from the Congo.

Guinea's President Touré in a cable to President Eisenhower on Nov. 20 expressed "concern at the development of a partisan position by the U.S. in the situation in the Congo" and requested that the U.S. "cease supporting the position of the enemies of African emancipation . . . If the U.S. maintains its present position, Guinea will take any position in African affairs consistent with Congolese interests."

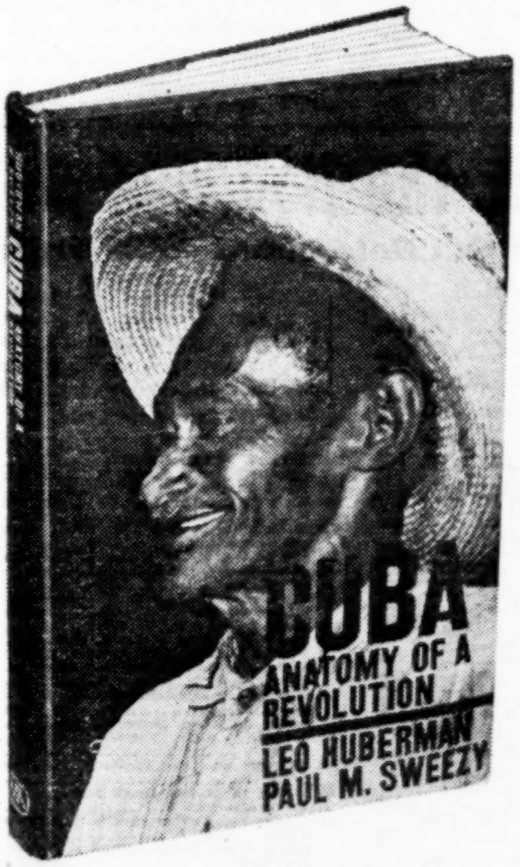
NKRUMAH FOLLOWS: Eisenhower denied Touré's charges, but Ghana's President Nkrumah took an even stronger position in two cables to UN Secy. Gen. Hammarskjold on Nov. 27. In the first he noted that UN recognition of the Kasavubu delegation confirmed Kasavubu as head of state and also confirmed the legality of the Congolese Parliament and of Lumumba's status as Premier, since the Parliament had appointed both of them. He urged the restoration of the legally constituted Parliament with all its officials.

In his second, Nkrumah said he was disturbed by news from impartial observers that "the colonialist powers are supporting Belgium in her attempts to regain control over the Congo," which Afro-Asians were determined to prevent. He said he was "addressing an urgent request to all independent African states to consider as a matter of highest priority the establishment of an African high command [whose resources] would be supplied by the independent African states [and which] should operate independently or be placed at the disposal of the UN" to provide aid for any African country threatened as the Congo.

BOOKS

"In my thirty years on The New York Times I have never seen a big story so misunderstood, so badly handled and so misinterpreted as the Cuban revolution." —Herbert Matthews

Now, at last, you can get the CUBA story straight—



That's what Waldo Frank, outstanding Latin American expert says:

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Leo Huberman and Paul M. Sweezy, the authors of *Cuba—Anatomy of a Revolution,* have both been university teachers of social science. They are co-editors of the magazine MONTHLY REVIEW, now in its 12th year of publication, and distinguished for its integrity, its independence, its clear style, its ability to get beneath the surface and lay bare the real causes of events.

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Rules Committee

(Continued from Page 1)

through seniority control of committees and the minority dictatorship of the Senate filibuster and the House Rules Committee, to continue to hold power far in excess of their numbers.

The focal point of democratic reform in Congress is the House Rules Committee, headed by Rep. Howard Smith (Va.) who is also the leader of the House Dixiecrats. Under existing rules, six of the 12 members of this committee have been able repeatedly to defy the majority of both the Senate and the House.

In the last Congress, the six prevented the House even from considering legislation on housing and to amend the Taft-Hartley law ban on building trades union picketing, although these measures had been passed by the Senate and the appropriate House Committees. They prevented passage of Federal aid to education by blocking House appointment of conferees to meet with Senate representatives to iron out differences in the bills passed by the House and Senate. They stopped the House from acting on juvenile delinquency and anti-inflation bills, and for many months prevented House action on civil rights. The Washington **Post** (Aug. 25, 1960) called this "an incredible kind of tyranny."

PURPOSE PERVERTED: The House Rules Committee is set up to act as a traffic cop regulating the flow of bills from the various committees to the House floor to avoid jams and lack of order. In practice this useful purpose has been perverted by the committee's assumption of power to pass on the **merits** of legislation and thus to act as a super-screening body.

It has exercised dictatorial control in three ways: by refusing to grant rules and thus preventing House debate and vote; by granting limited "gag" rules which exclude House consideration of amendments not approved by the committee; and by using its power to kill bills approved by both the Senate and the House by preventing the appointment of House conferees to meet with Senate conferees.

At present the committee is made up of eight Democrats, four of them from the South, and four Republicans. The Republicans are all arch reactionaries. Two Republican seats are now open and it is expected that GOP leadership will replace them with Congressmen who will continue the combination with the Dixiecrats.

HARD TO BEAT: Existing methods of getting around the committee blockade are cumbersome and difficult. The best-known device, a discharge petition signed by 219 Congressmen, has proved to be almost impossible to achieve. Other methods, such as the use of Calendar Wednesday when committee chairmen can bring bills directly to the House floor, and suspension of the House rules, have been tried with rare success because of the almost insurmountable parliamentary difficulties they create.

For many years liberals have sought to change the House rules to eliminate the Rules Committee blockade. In 1949 the House voted 275 to 143 to allow any committee chairman to bypass the Rules Committee after it has held up a bill for 21 days. But when the balance of conservative-liberal members of Congress changed in the next election, the 21-day rule was rescinded on Jan. 3, 1951.

In January, 1959, a group of liberals led by Rep. Chet Holifield (D-Calif.) sought to add members to the committee to break its reactionary control and to adopt the 21-day rule again. The reformers were quickly disarmed by Speaker Sam Rayburn (D-Tex.), who promised that he would "handle" the committee and its autocratic chairman. But the committee functioned as usual and Rayburn didn't deliver on his promise. The New York **Post** (Dec. 31, 1958) reported that Rayburn had a deal with Republican House leader Joe Martin (Mass.) to preserve the committee and its powers intact.

PROPOSED REFORMS: Toward the end of the 1960 Congress, House liberals again stated their aim to eliminate the committee as a "graveyard of liberal legislation." Led by freshman Rep. Gerald T. Flynn (D-Wis.), 11 liberals outlined their attack on the committee, but four of the 11, including Rep. Flynn, were defeated Nov. 8.

The reforms proposed are: (1) Select Democratic members of the committee by majority vote of the House Democratic caucus; (2) Expand the committee to 15 members by adding the Speaker, the Majority leader, and one other member; (3) Consider a tie vote to be an affirmative vote to report a bill to the House; (4) To readopt the 21-day rule.

PLATFORM PLANK: In 1960 Democratic platform stated: "The rules of the House of Representatives should be so amended as to make sure that bills reported by legislative committees reach the floor for consideration without delay."

During the campaign Sen. Kennedy indicated his sympathy for Rules Committee reform, but on Nov. 10 he said at a press conference: "Well, the rules of the House are a matter of judgment for your House, and the members of the House will have to judge what their rules should be. I am sure that whatever the rules are, that they will permit the orderly handling of legislation which is supported by a majority . . ."

Speaker Rayburn, Majority leader John McCormack (Mass.) and Vice President-elect Johnson have not indicated whether they will work for the platform pledge to end the Rules Committee blockade.

OTHER REFORMS: Several other reforms of Congressional procedure, especially affecting the Democratic majority, are being considered to restore majority rule in Congress. Among these are:

- Change the House Democratic caucus from a rubber stamp for Speaker Rayburn into an effective means of democratic control of party policy and tactics.
- Remove the power of appointments to House committees from Speaker Rayburn and his controlled Democratic Ways and Means Committee members who make the assignments now.
- Eliminate seniority as the decisive factor in selection of committee chairmen by substituting the majority vote of each committee.

The outcome of these reforms will be decided in informal conferences and caucuses before Congress opens Jan. 3. The liberals will caucus in Washington during December. The formal House Democratic caucus will be held Jan. 2 or early Jan. 3 before Congress convenes at noon that day. At the same time that the issue of the change of House rules affecting the Rules Committee comes up, the opportunity exists to change the rules to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

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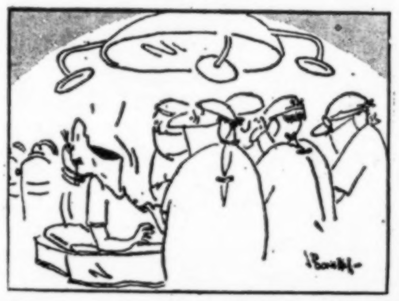
THE GALLERY

THE FBI WAS CALLED IN when two rocket warheads and an aircraft rocket motor were stolen from Dobbins Air Force Base near Marietta, Ga. The G-men puzzled over how "enemy agents" could have passed loyalty checks, eluded security guards, breached barbed wire fences, or otherwise evaded the heavy security procedures that protect our secrets. Special agent Charles Weeks came up with a clue: fresh tracks leading from one rocket pile to another. After careful investigation he concluded that there was a "strong possibility" that the culprits were two children wearing tennis shoes, accompanied by "a large dog" of unknown gender. The unfunny part of the story is that the rockets are explosive and could go off. Somebody ought to start some security around our bases. . . . "Because we can see no advantage for the American public in the further development of weapons, we are opposed to the participation by scientists, engineers and others in the further development and production of weapons," reads an announcement of the formation of the University Disarmament Group. Interested persons are asked to write to Dr. Jack Schwartz, 237 W. 105th St., New York, N.Y. . . . Some of the 600 inhabitants of Moscow, Me., would like to change the town's name to Wyman Dam. They say that they've tired of tourists asking: "Where's Khrushchev's house?" . . . The U.S. Chess Fedn. passed a resolution that "all tournaments sponsored by the USCF must be conducted at such a site that accommodations and the right to play are open to all USCF members, regardless of race, creed or national origin."

STANDARD OIL OF NEW JERSEY'S Esso subsidiary warned ship brokers last summer that it would "take note" of those who provided ships for Soviet oil exports. The rapid growth of Soviet oil exports has become a challenge to the Big Six world oil monopoly. But a slump in the tanker business gave some owners courage to ignore the warning. London and Overseas Freighters chartered 25 tankers to the Russians to carry 1,000,000 tons of oil in two years. But the Russians decided not to chance their export future on the whims of capitalist ship brokers and they began to buy vessels around the world. This month they made their biggest buy: a 40,000-ton tanker from Japan. . . . Angelo Spoto of the Rockford, Ill., Board of Education keeps a sharp eye out against dangerous ideas in children's books. When a new Earth Science textbook was proposed for the schools, Spoto wanted to know if it contained any references to communism. Stanley Studstrup, member of the committee which recommended the book, answered that the only references which might be questioned was one that the "TVA brought prosperity to the Tennesee Valley." Spoto asked that he be given books for approval before they are proposed to the board.



De Lach, Amsterdam

—Yow! Who has the cold hands?

AN INTERNATIONAL GROUP OF LAWYERS investigating jail conditions in Spain reported that they had found "abundant documentation" about maltreatment and torture of persons detained for political reasons. A Ministry of Justice official, Marcelino Cabanes Rodriguez, had assured them that no one was still in prison for participation in the civil war and that conditions in Spanish jails were as good as any in the world. But the lawyers were given documents by members of the Madrid Bar which showed that "those accused of political crimes in Spain lack the elemental rights of defense." The documents also showed that "any act of public opposition to the regime falls under the most severe sanction, even the death penalty." The Ministry of Justice official also denied that the Spanish government had received a request for amnesty for political prisoners signed by noted persons around the world. He said that photographic copies of the petitions were false. The investigating group included A. L. Colloms of New York, R. Turner of London, Angel Bustelo of Argentina, Jorge Jiles Pizaro of Chile and Jose Sanchez Mijaras of Venezuela . . . Six lawyers were arrested in Portugal for spreading false and distorted news to the detriment of the good name and credit of the state. They had signed a petition asking that a woman in jail for "communist activities" should be transferred to a hospital because she is seriously ill. . . . British censors banned the showing of **The Warsaw Ghetto**, a 20-minute documentary film produced in East Germany. The movie was made from captured Nazi film shot just before they destroyed the Ghetto. The censors said they would lift the ban if scenes showing the bodies of Hitler's victims were cut.

—Robert E. Light

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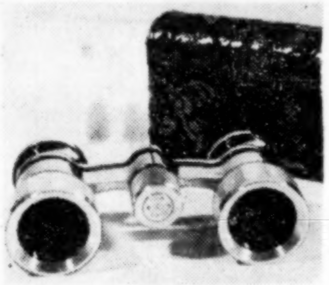

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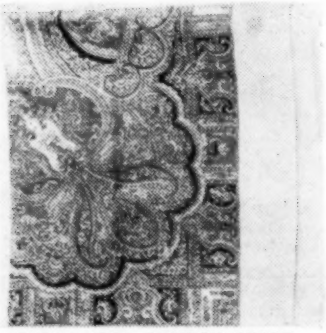

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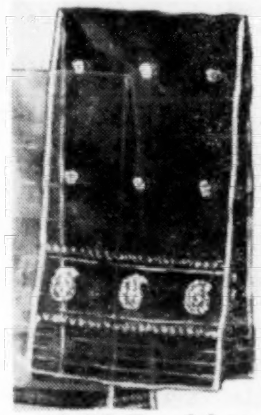

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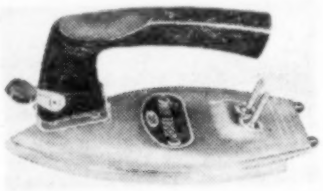

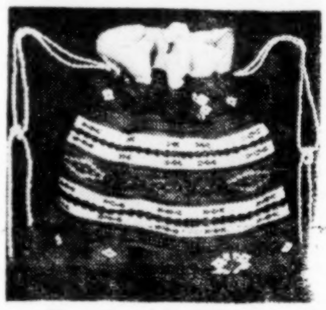

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NEWSPAPER

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the SPECTATOR

Rub a dub dub . . .

A NOTABLE RISE in the number of foreign films marked for mass distribution in the U.S. has stirred up a breezy controversy on the subject of voice dubbing versus subtitles. Some people believe that if a spectator does not understand the language of the characters, he should at least be permitted to hear **how** they say something while he reads more or less what they are saying. Others argue that written subtitles are distracting and inadequate conveyors of meaning and that the viewer should hear **what** the characters are saying, even though it is not they who speak, but "voices" employing the native tongue of the audience.

For good or bad, the odds seem in favor of dubbing. Sensing the trend, Bosley Crowther, movie critic of the New York **Times,** made an agonizing reappraisal of his former position, and this summer took his stand in an article called "Subtitles Must Go!" He described his opponents as purists and implied that they rejected dubbing mainly for snobbish reasons: speaking Italian, German, French or Russian, not to mention Japanese. they enjoy a crowing advantage over the benighted rest of us who don't, and who have to be content with snips of dialogue fed to our eyes.

MR. CROWTHER IRRITATED a good number of readers who countered by hinting that he was only concerned to defend as esthetic what the market scented as profitable. They pointed out that the performer's speech is integral to his performance and that the substitution of second-rate, underpaid actors' voices for those of the great French, Swedish and Soviet actors would make hash of the finest film. Others predicted that Hollywood, with an eye to economy, would hire hacks to translate the dialogue instead of talented playwrights and script writers. Where Crowther foresaw the best, they feared the worst.

Crowther's argument, which he has repeated since, assumes that most Americans would refuse to attend foreign films spoken in their own language. But there is no evidence that such films are limited to the "art theaters" because of an actual resistance on the public's part. It is perhaps more valid to say that distributor and critic arbitrarily decide for the public what it thinks and feels. (For example, rumor has it that a dubbed version of the French **Hiroshima, Mon Amour,** which Crowther has seen and now praises highly, was tabled in favor of the subtitled one, for fear that his former antipathy to dubbing would prejudice its success in New York.)

Crowther makes the point that for foreign films, even in their own languages, the voices are recorded by actors in a studio, while the action which was shot earlier is run off for them. But this practice cannot be equated with language dubbing, which involves all sorts of psychological problems connnected with national traditions, speech mannerisms and gestures.

TO CLINCH HIS CASE, Crowther on Nov. 6 wrote that he had also seen an unreleased dubbed version of Ingmar Bergman's **Wild Strawberries** (Swedish) which clarified (for him) a crucial question—of what was the doctor really guilty?—left unanswered by a non-committal subtitle. Actually, the ambiguity is not dissipated by what Crowther quotes of the equivalent spoken passage. But even if it were, a more adequate subtitle might have accomplished the same end.

On the other hand, people will, and must, try everything; and one shouldn't allow a few mediocre examples, such as the German **Rosemary**, in which banal English was most incongruous in German mouths, to close one's mind to fresh techniques. (Not really fresh; American films have been dubbed for years in Europe—in France often by members of the Comedie Francaise.)

Everyone concedes it is best to see, hear and understand good actors speaking their own language. But as this is generally not possible and the discussion arises not out of purely esthetic considerations but out of necessity, indignation is senseless, since either choice represents an inevitable compromise. But this does not mean that, once the technique has been decided upon, esthetic considerations can be thrown out the window. Because people will try **everything**, they should not have to stand for **anything.** If what is made to pass for dubbing is like what goes into a cheap hamburger, the foreign film will follow the path of the average domestic product and become a take-it-or-leave-it commodity.

IF THE DUBBED FILM is to have any validity as a work of art, as much creative talent must go into those elements which belong specifically to it as went into the original version. The translator must be sensitive to every dramatic nuance and to contemporary idiom, quite apart from having the technical skill to match the spoken words with the lip movements. The "voices" should be cast as carefully as the original performers. (And be paid accordingly.) Their director should have a grasp of the milieu of the film and the intention behind every gesture, laugh, grunt and cry of the characters. He will study the film as a conductor does a score. And the recording should contain the same background sounds as did the film with which it is synchronized.

Only when these and many other prerequisites are met is the whole business worth arguing about and only then do the working problems of dubbing begin. Otherwise, keep the subtitles!

—Charles Humboldt